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584 *Iwaxán:* a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting 832 the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to per- 776 form coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

584 5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the 832 *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, 301 and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

584 6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. 832 Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélay*), a rather large and gener- 431 ally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents 293 with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the recep- 276 tacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sańkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., 415 out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kélay* to give it to 531 the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kélay*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

584 Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never 431 returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

584 7. The use of love charms (*mańímud*) to force the girl to think of 832 him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

832 Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básı* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.